6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkúl is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetús* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of township and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chenpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitha*.

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both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

623 Government control over waste. 649

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négi* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négi* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

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In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemmo* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugún* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugún* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

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roster. In *kothí* Pín two men do the work of village messengers and policemen, and are paid three *khal* of barley per annum apiece out of the *netat* collections; the office goes by the name of *laspa*, and is held by the landholders in turn. Under the kings of Ladákh, a family in the village of Mani held the hereditary office of the *togochí* of Spiti. The *togochi* was a secretary and keeper of the records, and was associated with the *wazír* on an almost equal footing in all State business. The present head of the family, by name Sonám Tabgi, has been in the habit of assisting the *Nono* as a secretary.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Lahul

241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 [273] When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

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Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *so* (male) or *somo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [739] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.